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A.I.D. Support for Democracy:

A Review of Experience

Interim Report

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Executive Summary

A.I.D. in 1990 launched a major policy and program initiative to provide increased integrated support for democratic development. The Agency has considerable previous experience of supporting specific democracy activities, experience which is being built on in implementing the new policy. In order to review and assess this experience, CDIE recently initiated a study of A.I.D.'s earlier support for democracy (as well as other, selected U.S.-based agencies' support), which is briefly summarized in this interim report.

In highlighting A.I.D. experience in this summary, the concept of democracy is divided into several categories which reflect the tendency of A.I.D. traditionally to define discrete project activities. Presently democracy is conceptualized in the Agency as more integral to the overall development process.

0   *Constitutionalism* -- A.I.D. recently has directly assisted several countries in redesigning their constitutions and in supporting the rule of law and governance through U.S private foundations.

0   *Human Rights* -- Since the mid-seventies, results of A.I.D support of human rights, especially in Latin America and more recently in Asia, indicate success in raising to local consciousness the human rights situation in particular locales.

0   *Administration of Justice (AOJ)* -- The AOJ has succeeded in bringing unprecedented public attention to the weakness of judicial systems at a critical juncture in the history of democratic transitions in Latin America. Experience suggests, however, that projects which stress independent investigation of criminal activites appear unlikely to succeed in countries where the armed forces have de facto control over police and intelligence operations.

0   *Decentralization* -- The technical capacities of local institutions may have been improved as a result of decentralization projects, but such improvements frequently were not accompanied by the basic institutional reforms necessary for significantly expanding local government services, responsiveness and accountability.

0   *Legislative Development* -- Since the 1970s, A.I.D. has funded U.S. universities and private foundations to provide training and technical assistance to legislatures in developing countries. The results tentatively suggest the continuing expansion of parliamentary roles in those countries.

0   *Political Parties* -- A.I.D. support of political parties on a non-partisan basis has resulted in many pro-democratic parties being able to compete in election campaigns on a more equal footing than they would have otherwise.

0   *Elections* -- A.I.D. assistance in strengthening electoral processes and institutions has enhanced the integrity of the electoral process and mobilized voter interest and turnout in elections. according to field reports from electoral oversight commissions.

0   *Training in Political Leadership* -- Training in the U.S. of national leaders in democratic values and practices may require more concentrated targeting by geographic area or sector,

II. Constitutionalism

Constitutions set out the terms and conditions of governance, a set of rules for rule-making, and the nature of rights and obligations as they pertain to the individual, society and the state. Constitutions constitute the basis for the rule of law, and the associated conditions and procedures for due process, judicial review and the separation of powers.

Until the mid-1980s, there is little evidence of interest and concern within A.I.D and the other agencies reviewed concerning issues of constitutionalism in the developing world. Recently, however, A.I.D. and the Asia Foundation have provided assistance to several countries in redesigning their constitutions. However, the Ford Foundation has emerged as the major actor in supporting a renewed interest in constititionalism.

In 1987, the Ford Foundation launched a worldwide effort to build a network of scholars and practitioners in the comparative study of constitutions. Over the next three years a series of workshops and conferences were held which focussed on constitutional themes relating to issues of federalism, religious and ethnic diversity, the role of civil and military rule, and democratic forms of governance.

Although funding for the Ford project recently ended, it has served to generate follow-on activities in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where there is a renewed interest in constitiutonalism as a legitimate area of research and policy dialog. Building on this effort, the Foundation is planning to launch a program which focuses on the constitutional arrangements appropriate for multi-ethnic nations in Eastern and Southern Africa. An expanded network of African scholars, lawyers and civil servants will be supported to enhance policy dialog on constitutional models which support more democratic forms of governance in this region.

The Ford Foundation's endeavors come at a time of increased disenchantment in the developing world with post-colonial structures of government, where state power is highly centralized under the monopoly control of a single party or military clique, and where the political and bureaucratic organs of government remain relatively unaccountable and unresponsive to public interests. The Foundation's activities represent a modest response to a growing demand in the developing world for new conceptions of government and constitutional principles which are both more democratic and accommodating of ethnic and political differences. 'It would appear that aside from the Foundation's activities, donors may be neglecting this area of support which could yield substantial returns in advancing the process of constitutional reform and democratization.

III. Human Rights

Since the mid 1970s, A.I.D. has implemented numerous human rights projects in support of democratic institutions, values and practices. These efforts have included provision of assistance to human rights organizations in their efforts to improve public awareness of civil and political rights, to increase public access to the judicial system and to political processes, and the support of initiatives in

according to early assessments. Such targeting would achieve the critical mass necessary for inducing significant cultural and institutional change.

0   *Non-Governmental Organizations* -- A.I.D. support of NGOs over several decades enhanced grassroots participation in the development process in specific locales, but did not contribute to a larger political process. However, a recent shift in thinking by the Agency has led to greater concern for the linkage between local development and a larger democratization process.

0   *Labor Unions* -- Thirty years of A.I.D. funding of the American Federation of Labor -- Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) in support of free labor movements is associated with the growth of labor unions in countries where none had previously existed.

0   *Civil/Military Relations* -- A.I.D. support has contributed to opening a broader regional dialog in Latin America on the subject of civil/military relations which had received little prior attention; to enhancing the legitimacy of Latin American scholars to do research on the subject; and to creating an awareness among civilian authorities of the skills necessary to manage the military establishment.

0   *Civil/Religious Relations* -- A.I.D. has only begun to give attention to the implications of religiously inspired political movements for political development. Limited support is presently being provided in Asia for the integration of selected Islamic societies into the overall development process.

0   *Civic Culture* -- While A.I.D. has considerable experience in supporting civic education activities with local associations and labor unions, it has until only very recently had little experience in efforts aimed at fostering democratic values through formal education systems of developing countries.

I. Introduction

In 1990, The Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) launched a major policy and program initiative to provide increased integrated support for democratic development in the developing world. In part, this new emphasis has been inspired by the recent and dramatic rise of democratic movements, particularly in Eastern Europe and selected parts of Africa. A.I.D., however, has a long history of supporting specific democracy activities and it is intended that the new policy emphasis will build on the experience of these past efforts. In this context, the Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE), the central evaluation arm of the A.I.D. Policy Directorate Staff, has recently initiated a review of the Agency's experience in this area.

The current CDIE review includes not only an examination of the A.I.D. experience, but also a review of some of the programs of other selected U.S.-based agencies which are important actors in the developing world. These include the Ford Foundation, the Inter-American Foundation (IAF), the Asia Foundation (TAF), and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).[1]

It should be stressed that the present document is an interim report, which briefly conveys some preliminary and tentative findings of a review that is still in progress. The report is based exclusively on document reviews and U.S. based interviews. CDIE will soon complement these studies with more indepth reviews in selected topical areas, including on-site field assessments.

In this report the concept of democracy is divided into categories within which A.I.D. has traditionally tended to define discrete project activities. These include the following categories of activity:

--constitutionalism	--elections
--human rights	--training in political leaders
--administration of justice	--non-governmental organizations
--decentralization	--labor unions
--legislative development	--civil/military relations
--political parties	--civil/religious relations
	--civic culture

A.I.D. support for democracy in the past year has become a more integral component of its overall development effort and thus the discrete topical areas listed above are now being integrated into more regional- and country-focused development strategies. In the future, therefore, regional and country strategies will be assessed with respect to impact on democracy, as will the discrete programs and projects contained within the strategies.

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[1]Founded in the 1950's, the TAF is a private organization, receiving funding from both U.S. government and private sources, which provides grants to Asian and Pacific Island recipients. Established by the U.S. Congress in 1969, the IAF is an a political and non-partisan independent agency which provides grants in support of private self-help initiatives in Latin America and the Caribbean regions. The Ford Foundation, established in 1936, is a private foundation providing grants in Asia, Latin America and Africa. The NED is an autonomous organization, established by Congress in 1983, and provides grants in support of democracy projects.

legal reform. A.I.D. has been particularly active in Latin America, and South Africa and has provided funds to the Asia Foundation in support of its human rights projects in Asia.

The Ford Foundation has a long-standing program in support of human rights, with a particular emphasis on the Latin American region, where it has provided assistance to human rights activists, and church groups and lawyer associations seeking to defend the rights of political detainees.

Evaluations of the impact of projects in supporting human rights are in short supply. Nevertheless, available assessments frequently point in the direction not so much of the improvement of human rights conditions per se as the capacity to raise to local consciousness the human rights situation in a particular locale. In particular, A.I.D.- supported activities have strengthened the capability of persons and organizations to raise to consciousness the possibility for improving human rights conditions. Such a conclusion is not intended to underestimate the role of consciousness-raising in potentially leading to significant social change.

The A.I.D. and Ford experience suggests that in countries where a government is restrictive and human rights conditions "poor," private human rights organizations led by activists from upper or middle class backgrounds, but with strong links to grass roots human rights movements, are the most effective means of addressing human rights abuses. A singular emphasis on grass root strategies, without linkages to a stratum of society with the capacity for more political influence and support, has tended to yield less impact. Concomitantly, once a country's human rights conditions are raised to a state of "fair-improving," a collaborative mix of private and public organizations and institutions can work in concert both in combatting abuses and promoting rights.

Aside from more generic human rights issues, significant progress is being made in bringing much greater attention to issues involving the rights of women. A.I.D, Ford, TAF and IAF are supporting national and regional organizations, such as the Asia-Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development, to advance the process of legal reform in this area.

IV. Administration of Justice

Over the last thirty years A.I.D has supported a number of projects in judicial and legal education. These efforts were greatly expanded in scope and content in 1985, when the Administration of Justice (AOJ) program was authorized by Congress. The goal of this program is to strengthen the independence, impartiality and efficiency of existing court systems and thereby provide citizens with confidence in the judiciary as an institution accountable to the citizenry.

Latin America, but particularly Central America, is the primary emphasis for most of A.I.D.'s programs and financial commitment in support of the AOJ project. The AOJ program has produced an early positive outcome by bringing unprecedented public attention to the weakness of judicial systems at a critical period in the history of democratic transitions in the Latin American region.

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However, experience with these programs suggests that in the short term, despite a large infusion of resources and assistance, legal cultures and institutions may be slow to change, particularly under conditions where the political environment is not supportive of judicial reform. In several Latin American countries, the ability for judicial reform to move beyond training and to take root institutionally has been dependent on whether the armed forces would allow the courts systems to operate independently. Thus, experience suggests that projects which emphasize independent investigation of criminal activities, are unlikely to succeed in countries where the armed forces still retain de facto control over police and intelligence operations.

Both the Ford and Asia Foundations have been supporting a range of judicial reform projects, including legal training, the exploration of non-judicial mechanisms for dispute settlement, and the institutional separation of police and prosecution functions. Both Foundations have supported the development of regional associations to enhance dialog and greater visibility on issues of judicial reform. Ford has provided funding for the Andean Commission of Jurists, and TAF for the Law Association for Asia and the Western Pacific.

An underlying issue in all of these efforts concerns how improvements in the efficiency of judicial systems can also be accompanied by reforms to enhance the impartiality and independence of the judicial function. Limited evidence suggests that progress is being made in some countries in making the latter issue a legitimate topic of public dialog.

V. Decentralization

A.I.D. has a long history of involvement in the support of decentralization and local government development. In the 1960s projects were initiated in municipal development in Latin America, followed in the 1970s by a number of large decentralization projects in the Philippines, Indonesia and Egypt.

Decentralization projects were undertaken in an effort to make public services and investment more accountable and responsive to local needs. The projects usually involved a major emphasis on the transfer of resources and decision-making authority from central to local agencies, and the provision of technical assistance to improve local planning, budgeting, and program implementing capacities.

While A.I.D has not undertaken a recent systematic evaluation of its decentralization projects, available evidence indicates that technical capacities were generally improved at the local level but these were frequently not accompanied by the basic institutional reforms necessary for significantly expanding local government services, responsiveness and accountability. In particular, major constraints have been encountered in the resistance of central governments to institutionalize revenue sharing processes or to transfer taxing authority to local governments.

While A.I.D.-supported decentralization efforts have brought some measure of empowerment for local governments, the same cannot be said for the local communities which they are expected to serve. In part this can be attributed to the more conservative orientations of many local government authorities who are not inclined to welcome community participation, and to a lack of local organizations which could express public views and influence decision-making in the allocation of public resources. These

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conditions are further accentuated, particularly in rural areas, where there are great disparities in the distribution of wealth and landholding.

A.I.D. is renewing its support for a second generation of decentralization and municipal development projects in Latin America. These efforts will feature a stronger emphasis on policy changes to enhance local fiscal autonomy and on strengthening the involvement of community organizations in local self-governance. From past experience, there is sufficient anecdotal evidence to suggest that local community empowerment could be achieved if there is greater emphasis in these efforts on democratization as a component of the decentralization process. TAF is pursuing this objective in several Asia countries where they are working to enhance the oversight and representational functions of provincial legislative assemblies.

VI. Legislative Development

In the 1970s, A.I.D. supported a consortium of U.S. universities to undertake research on developing country legislatures and their role in fostering political and economic development. A.I.D itself, however, did not undertake any bilateral projects to strengthen legislative capacities in the developing world. One lasting contribution of the consortium project was the establishment of a legislative training and research center at the State University of New York at Albany, which provided early assistance to the parliaments in Brazil and South Korea, and has since continued to provide training and technical assistance to developing country legislatures.

In the mid 1980's, A.I.D. launched its first in-country legislative assistance project, with support to strengthen legislative capacities in the Central American and Caribbean region. These efforts are now being expanded to other countries in Latin America with the primary objective of enhancing the capacities of legislatures to draft legislation, to perform more effectively their oversight of the executive branch of government, to improve their technical competence in important policy issues, and to enhance their capacity to represent constituent interests. A similar legislative effort has been initiated in Eastern Europe and in several countries in Asia.

It is too early to determine whether the new A.I.D. activities will have a significant impact on legislative performance. Only the Asia Foundation has a significant record of experience in supporting the development of legislative capacities. Since the 1970's, it has worked with a number of Asian parliaments and national assemblies in upgrading the technical capacities of parliamentary staffs, developing parliamentary research and reference services, and exposing members of parliaments to the various means by which parliaments in other other countries effectively conduct their business. Limited evidence suggests that these activities are associated with a continuing growth of parliamentary roles and innovation in Asia.

The experience of the Asia Foundation in its long record of assistance for legislative development in South Korea, Taiwan and later in Thailand should constitute an important source of lessons and guidance for future activities. One clear lesson is that one of the weakest areas of parliamentary performance is in representing constituent interests. In order to address this weakness TAF is pursuing a strategy of linking local and national advocacy and public interest groups more closely to the legislative process, and is strengthening, as well, the oversight roles of parliamentary committee

systems. It is unclear how effective this effort will be given the inherent organizational weaknesses of many of the political parties which are represented in the parliaments.

VII. Political Parties

Since 1985, the past several years A.I.D. has provided the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) with grant monies to support political party development, particularly in the East European region, and for selected countries in other regions. Prior to this time, A.I.D. did not undertake activities in this area, except for some provision of resources for scholarly research on the role of political parties in the developing world.

The recent advent of A.I.D. support for political party development has occurred in response to the rapid emergence of pro-democracy political movements seeking to remove, through free and fair elections, long-standing totalitarian and authoritarian governments. Thus, much of the A.I.D. assistance, provided through NED, has been directed at improving organizational capacities, fund raising and campaign techniques, along with education and issues research for newly formed or pre-existing, but previously suppressed, political parties.

In all of its activities in this area, A.I.D. has observed a policy of insisting that its funds be provided on a non-partisan basis to parties adhering to democratic principles and practices. The record of experience in this area suggests that this funding has enabled many pro-democratic parties to compete in elections and election campaigns on a more equal footing than they would have otherwise, given the hostility and the frequently heavy-handed partisan controls exercised by incumbent authoritarian governments.

In many developing countries, the responsiveness and stability of governments are undermined by a multitude of weak and faction-ridden political parties. These parties tend to be elitist and clientelist in orientation, narrowly urban-based, and thereby poorly linked to constituencies and issues which are in need of representation in the political process. For this reason, A.I.D. expects to continue to provide assistance to political parties on a selective basis through the NED, with an emphasis on improving their capacities in issues development, local organizing and leadership training, research and opinion surveys, and in voting and campaign elections.

VIII. Elections

A.I.D. has supported numerous projects in support of strengthening electoral processes and institutions. The most active effort has been in Latin America where funding has been provided to ensure free, fair and open elections. The A.I.D. activities have included the provision of technical assistance and training to election commissions, election officials and poll watchers, the development of regional associations of election officials, the funding of international election observers, and the promotion of voter education and registration campaigns.

While these efforts have not been the subject of a thorough evaluation, it is clear from field reports prepared by electoral oversight commissions that many have been quite successful in enhancing the

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integrity of the electoral process, and mobilizing voter interest and turnout in elections. The A.I.D. supported training of electoral officials and pollwatchers in Guatemala and a voter education/registration program in Chile, are now seen by some as models for similar efforts in the Latin America region.

In the past year, A.I.D has also been active in providing a range of election support activities in Eastern Europe. Similarily, in Africa and Asia, a number of countries have been or are now recipients of funds to strengthen election processes.

The A.I.D. experience suggests that support for improved election administration can yield sizeable returns in restoring public confidence and interest in elections, and that pro-democratic forces can gain further ground when elections are held in a free and open manner. From a more tactical perspective, the A.I.D. experience also suggests that assistance to electoral courts or commissions should assume a longer-term institution building character in order to ensure that these bodies are adequately prepared to assume the heavy administrative burden of election management.

Election administration and voter registration campaigns are much less effective where the competing political parties engage in rampant vote buying, and where the political system is dominated by oligarchic elites who express little inclination to address important social and economic issues. Under these conditions, more fundamental political reforms are likely necessary before elections can play a constructive role in the political process. It is for this reason that several donor organizations have been relatively selective in their support for election and voter registration projects.

IX. Training in Political Leadership

Launched in 1985, the Caribbean and Latin American Scholarship Program (CLASP) constitutes the largest and most concerted A.I.D. effort to expand capacities in political leadership. One of the major goals of the program is to familiarize Latin American leaders with democratic values and practices in the U.S. in the hope that they will return to their country and seek to apply these values in their own leadership activities.

Most of the resources for the CLASP program are explicitly focussed on recruiting young (under the age of 30) Latin American leaders from disadvantaged social and economic groups. Many of these individuals come from rural areas and approximately 40 percent are women.

For the period from 1985 to 1993, approximately 15,000 individuals will have been sent to the U.S. under the CLASP program, most of which will come from the Central American region. The majority of this number will receive a short-term training experience in the U.S. which includes some exposure to democratic organizations and practices.

An impact evaluation has yet to be conducted of the CLASP program. Much will need to be learned from the CLASP program concerning how returning trainees learn to apply democratic values and practices to their own conditions, and the extent to which this change begins to have a transforming effect upon their environment and the larger society. Achieving this kind of transformation may require more concentrated targetting by geographic area or sector in order to achieve the critical mass

necessary for inducing significant cultural and institutional change. For example, in Belize the CLASP program has focussed on the education sector, with the result that all high school principals and or vice principals nation-wide and over one quarter of the country's primary school principals have been included in the training program. This kind of saturation strategy might over time yield some profound changes in the education sector and in the kinds of values children are exposed to in their early years of training.

Aside from the CLASP program much more effort could be devoted to introducing democracy concerns in the training provided for technical and scientific manpower sent to the U.S. under other A.I.D., host-country or self sponsorship. These individuals are seldom provided exposure to the democratic procedures which underlie most American institutions. Yet, many of these trainees will return to their home countries and move into leadership positions in institutions ostensibly modelled after U.S. and Western democratic institutions. Their capacities as leaders may be seriously impaired in the absence of a working knowledge of how effective institutional performance is dependent upon an underlying structure of democratic values and procedures.

X. Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs)

For the past several decades A.I.D. and other U.S. based agencies have supported the growth of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the developing world. The non-governmental sector usually refers to private or quasi public organizations which operate as autonomous entities and which may function either on a profit or non-profit basis. They include a wide array of organizational types; cooperatives, credit unions, community development organizations, and private voluntary organizations involved in the provision of social and educational services.

Much of the donor assistance provided to the NGO sector has reflected a grass roots strategy designed to enhance local initiative and participation in the development process. These investments have also involved some effort to infuse democratic practices within their internal management. Seldom, however, were NGOs viewed as contributors to a larger political development process extending beyond their local boundaries.

In recent years a fundamental shift has begun to occur within A.I.D., Ford Foundation, IAF and TAF, with an emerging emphasis on viewing the NGO sector not only as a means of local service delivery and self-help activism but also as a vital element of a larger democratization process. With this shift in strategy more attention is now being focussed on building coalitions of NGOs, and linking them vertically with broader based umbrella organizations at the national and international level where they can exercise a role in influencing public policy formation and exercise pressure in holding governments accountable for their actions.

In Asia and more recently in Latin America, a plethora of politically active NGOs has emerged, including professional associations (journalists, lawyers, etc.), sectarian groups, public interest foundations, and private think tanks. Their activities include public education campaigns, lobbying, drafting and submitting legislative bills, and in some instances filing class action claims against government agencies. Some of the more conspicuous and politically influential NGOs have emerged in the environment/natural resource and human rights (particularly women's rights) areas.

In many respects, A.I.D. is still in the early stages of rethinking the role of the NGOs from a more political development perspective. An initial review of project experience suggests that many NGOs which might have demonstrated a potential for expanding into a larger policy forum were frequently not assisted in this effort, largely because the Agency was still operating within a frame of reference which saw their contribution being primarily of a local development character. In addition, because there has not been much thought as to their significance in the process of political development, A.I.D is only beginning to address developing country policies which seriously constrain the growth of the NGO sector.

XI. Labor Unions

In the early 1960s, the U.S. Government made a commitment in its Foreign Assistance Act to support the creation of free trade unions abroad as part of its effort to encourage democratic development in less developed countries. This commitment, in turn, was operationalized over the years through grants provided by Congress, through A.I.D., to the American Federation of Labor -- Congress of Industrial Organizations, the AFL-CIO.

Over the past thirty years, the AFL-CIO, through three subsidiary organizations focussing on the three major developing country regions, has used the A.I.D. provided grants to support free labor movements in the developing world, with a particular emphasis on the Latin American region. Their activities have included the provision of assistance in basic union organizing; support for and defense of fundamental worker, human and civil rights; the right of collective bargaining; the drafting of labor legislation; and child labor laws. It has also supported voter registration campaigns, and financed international election observers. Over the years the AFL-CIO has trained thousands of union leaders in union organizing and in the planning and executing of labor union strategies.

The impact of A.I.D. support of AFL-CIO overseas labor union development programs has not been a subject of systematic evaluation. Nevertheless, it is apparent that in many developing countries, labor unions have been built where they had not even existed before, and AFL-CIO support has been associated with these changes. Over time the leaders of these new unions have learned to formulate sophisticated labor positions at the national level, to gather the data to support those positions, and to argue them in the press and public fora. In some countries labor has been able to secure institutionalized representation in legislative bodies of national governments.

In many countries labor movements are still severely repressed by government authorities or they have been coopted by governments and political parties to support policies which may be anti-democratic and statist in character. At great risk, some unions have sought to oppose authoritarian governments. In order to address these constraints, the AFL-CIO has sought to support unions which remain free of political party affiliations, and has sought, as well, to enhance the role of markets and private enterprise in state dominated economies. In addition, the AFL-CIO has used, with some effect, the U.S. General System of Preferences trade agreements to force countries to observe specific standards of worker rights.

XII. Civil/Military Relations

In 1986, A.I.D. launched a project with the twofold purpose of stimulating greater dialog between civilian and military leaders in Latin America and supporting research collaboration between U.S. and Latin American scholars on civil/military relations in the region. Over the past several years this project has jointly sponsored, with Latin American institutions, three regional conferences where high level military and civilian authorities have discussed a range of topics, including the role of the armed forces and the civilian sector in the transition to democracy, civilian control in national security policy and the management of the military, the relation of the military to civilian judicial and police functions, and issues relating to legislative oversight of the military.

This project has contributed to opening a broader regional dialog on a subject which heretofore had received little attention in Latin American regional forums. All three of the project-sponsored conferences have been well attended and the conference discussions have been greeted with much interest and constructive dialog among the participants. The project has also enhanced the legitimacy and capacity of Latin American civilian scholars undertaking research on civilian/military relations.

The dialog and scholarship supported by the project is serving to make civilian authorities aware of the skills and knowledge they must acquire in order to effectively manage the military establishment. The demand for these skills can be seen in the increasing number of requests which are coming from Latin America for further work on the issues of civil/military relations. Thus, an A.I.D. project-funded team has recently been invited to Paraguay to assist the government in addressing how the civilian and military sectors can begin to establish more constructive relationships. In addition, the project will soon sponsor a conference in Central America on issues involving civilian/police/military relations.

The recent advances made in generating more dialog and scholarship on civil/military issues in Latin America can also be attributed to projects initiated by the Ford Foundation in the mid-1980s. These projects provide funding to scholars undertaking research on this topic, and include, as well, some institutional development assistance to autonomous research institutes in building their analytical capacities on military issues.

Aside from these Latin American projects there has been very little activity involving U.S.-based donor support in other regions of the world. The Asia Foundation has assisted the Thailand National Defense College, and previously the Japanese Defense Agency, in starting education programs in the social sciences and civics. Given the fact that the military frequently constitutes one of the most serious threats to democracy and human rights, much greater attention will need to be focussed on issues involving civil/military relations.

XIII. Civil/Religious Relations

Religiously inspired political movements remain a powerful force in many developing countries. At best, they make a constructive contribution to economic and social change, while if inclined toward extremist tendencies, they can be a source of intolerance and political dogmatism which serves to undermine democratic institutions and practices.

A.I.D. has given only minimal attention to political development issues involving civil/religious relations. It is currently funding a project administered by the TAF in Indonesia which supports modernist Islamic leaders in designing and testing new approaches to Islamic-led community development efforts.

In Asia, for the past three decades TAF has recognized the important role of Islam as a political movement and continues to support a program with the twofold purpose of assisting Islamic leaders and scholars in their efforts to examine social and political development in light of Islamic religious teachings, and secondly, in improving understanding between Islamic and non-Islamic communities within countries.

TAF provides support for both modernist and conservative Muslim leaders and scholars, of which a number have been sent to the U.S. for graduate study, and assisted, as well, Islamic education programs from the elementary to university level with the incorporation of secular subjects. Assistance has also been provided to Islamic human rights and legal aid groups. Finally, with the support of TAF an association of Southeast Asian Muslim social scientists has been formed to promote intellectual exchange with respect to Islam and its role in national development.

TAF has targetted assistance to improving the status of Muslim minorities in Thailand and the Philippines. A range of educational activities have been supported involving dialog between Muslims and non-Muslims, including assistance in establishing university centers for the study of Islam in both countries.

A cursory review of the TAF experience appears to suggest that its small but continuous investments have yielded relatively significant returns in assisting Muslim leaders to learn and adapt to changing social and political conditions and thereby contribute to enhancing Islam as a constructive movement within their countries. Nevertheless, aside from the TAF investments, there is little evidence of efforts to foster greater intellectual exchange and learning among developing country leaders who are seeking to translate their religious orientations into social and political actions consistent with democratic practices.

XIV. Civic Culture

Strong democracies rest on a cultural foundation which values tolerance of other's opinions, a willingness to compromise, a commitment to the protection of civil and political rights, and respect for differences in race, religion and cultural traditions. These values can be most effectively acquired in the family setting, and in the socialization experience involved in primary, secondary and teritary education. The development of a strong civic culture is particularly important in multi-ethnic/religious societies, many of which are found in the developing world.

A.I.D. has considerable experience in supporting civic education activities with local associations and labor unions. However, until recently, A.I.D and other U.S. development agencies have had little experience in providing assistance in support of civic education projects directly involving the formal education system, particularly at the primary and

secondary level. In the past, this lack of activity has reflected a degree of sensitivity by some developing country governments in having outside agencies involved in projects of this kind. However, this attitude is now changing and there is increased interest in exploring new ways of building education systems which foster democratic values.

A.I.D. is planning to undertake a range of activities in support of civic education programs in the Central American and Caribbean region. These programs will initially involve pilot efforts in the formal and non-formal educational system and will feature an emphasis on participatory and interactive learning. A.I.D. assisted efforts in the development of civic courses in local schools are underway in Senegal, Maldives, and a number of related activities are being conducted in other countries. The TAF has undertaken some similar, but modest, efforts in civic education in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. In the case of the TAF activities, the project frequently involved working with university faculty who were engaged in revamping primary and secondary curricula.

In principle, and in the absence of evaluation evidence otherwise, an emphasis on innovation and strengthening the civics education components of formal education systems would seem to offer much promise in imparting attitudes and values which reinforce democratic values over the longer term.

XV. Summary Conclusions and Outstanding Issues

The following tentative conclusions derive from considerations which go beyond the categories of democratic development considered in II-XIV above. Rather, they reflect understandings based on a more comprehensive analysis and integration of experience with these activities, as well as other aspects of political development.

Conclusions

A. *Areas Which Could Yield High Impacts* on a Short-term Basis Improvements in election administration, voter registration and funds to enhance capacities of pro-democratic political parties to compete in election campaigns are areas which promise short-term, high-yield returns in advancing moves already underway toward democracy.

B. *Areas Least Amenable to Short-term Change* Efforts to reform administration of justice systems, to advance the protection of human rights, and to improve the representational role of political parties are important areas for donor intervention, but may require long-term donor investments.

C. *Areas Which Could Yield High Impacts* on a Longer-term Basis Long-term investments in building a strong national NGO sector, particularly public interest and advocacy organizations, could contribute to the strengthening of democracy on a longer-term basis.

D. *Role of Other Agencies Reviewed* U.S. non-governmental organizations (NGOs) whose efforts have been reviewed, have played a significant role in support of democratization in the developing world. Some of these NGOs, especially certain foundations, have developed innovative approaches to democratic development, certain of which are highly dependant on intimate, hands-on knowledge of country socio-political processes and conditions.

Issues

This review of experience has uncovered several important issues that require more attention within the Agency to strengthen the strategic management of demcratic initiatives:

A. *Ignored Areas* A.I.D. is supporting few activities in areas which could either significantly impede or facilitate progress towards democracy. These ignored areas include civil/military relations, civil/religious relations, and ethnic relations.

B. *Strategic Perspectives* A.I.D. is in the early stages of learning how to develop overall strategies to promote democracy from which to define the kinds of programs and projects to be implemented in a particular country. The conceptual frameworks and analytical tools for use in undertaking democracy country assessments of democracy, out of which strategies can then be formulated, are still at a very rudimentary level of development.

C. *Integrating Political and Economic Development Similarily*, A.I.D. is only in the early stages of developing an understanding of how strategies for promoting democracy might be tailored to reinforce progress in economic reform and, similarly, how economic reform strategies might serve to strengthen democratic reforms.

D. *Institutional Learning* A.I.D.'s acquisition of experience and the generation of successes and failures in the design and implementation of specific democracy activities is running well ahead of its current efforts to document and learn from this experience at a larger institutional level. This is an area in need of greater priority.

E. *Measures of Progress* Measuring the impact of democracy programs on a short- or longer-term basis may be quite difficult in some project areas. In some cases, progress may be discernible in the lack of further regression or deterioration in the larger political climate. In addition, attributions of progress to donor programs in this arena is difficult to determine. Efforts presently underway in the Agency to establish strategic objectives and performance indicators of democratic development and to improve evaluation methodologies in this area of critical activity.

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